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HERONDAEA

BY

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT

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Prof. John H. Wright,
Apr. 2, 1896.

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I.

PUNCTUATION IN THE PAPYRUS.

I. *The Spaces.* — It is an important peculiarity of the papyrus manuscript of the Mimiambi of Herondas recently discovered (Papyrus No. CXXXV., British Museum), that, while as a rule the letters of the several verses are written continuously, without break or pause between the different words, now and then — in about twelve per cent of the verses — slight breaks or blank spaces do occur, never amounting however to more than the space ordinarily taken up by from one to two of the letters of average breadth. The significance of these breaks for the punctuation of the text was first emphasized by Blass, and has been recognized by several critics of the poet; but thus far only sporadically. In this article I propose to present all the examples, and to discuss the doubtful ones, not neglecting at the same time the examination of a few related topics, important in their bearing on the text-criticism of our author.¹

It should be observed, in the first place, that these breaks are never intended to mark words as words, nor to suggest the proper combinations of letters into words in ambiguous instances: this work is performed, but without system, incompletely, and only very rarely directly, by the marks of the rough breathing,² the accents,³ the coro-

¹ For convenience ordinary type will be regularly used in the notes for the readings of the manuscript. It is to be regretted that in the text the font of inscriptional type so imperfectly represents the cursive majuscules of the papyrus.

² Only the rough breathing is written, and always in an angular form (ʾ), except in the late οὐδ'έν, VI. 3. The cases are: II. 70 (ᾠναγησ); V. 20 (ὄρευνεκ); VI. 25 (ἡ Βιτᾶτοσ); VI. 68 (ἀμι[λλ]η); VII. 46 (οἰ).

³ The accents, acute, circumflex, and grave, exhibit interesting peculiarities. The circumflex and acute are used with many proper names, but not with all; also to distinguish between words spelled alike but differently accented, and to indicate the correct grouping of letters into words, etc.: e.g., I. 29 (θέαι, not θεαί); I. 85

nis,¹ and perhaps once or twice by the use of the dot or point.² The last, however, has a more extended use — in perhaps a dozen examples, collected below — as a sign of punctuation (στιγμή), having here a value not wholly unlike that of the spaces, but not so strong as that of the παράγραφος.

Punctuation within the verses is indicated mainly by these spaces: indeed, these spaces have no value except as signs of strong interpunctuation, and they always have this value, when not accidentally made.

(μά, not μά); *ibid.* (οσσοῦ = ὅς σοῦ, not ὅσσον); IV. 42 (αὐτή = αὔτη, not αὐτή); II. 1 (ἐστέ = ἐστέ, not ἔστε). At V. 41 (οδῇ) perhaps the accent may indicate ὁδῇ. At II. 9 (ἡμεας) the accent seems to suggest the synaloepha of the final syllable (Crusius): and in V. 49 the acute on the ultima (ακηκουκάς) may be intended to indicate a rising tone of voice, necessary in a question (Diels).

The grave accent regularly appears to be used to provide against misapprehensions. The examples are I. 60 (τάταλι . . . : to show that this is not τατά; it also shows that we have a longer word here than τατά); I. 76 (Πυθεω δέ); I. 70 (ῶναγης: ὁ + ἀναγής, not ὦν κτλ.); II. 1 (ἐστέ: ἐστέ, not ἔστέ); II. 24 (ἐμ': ἐμέ, not ἐμά); III. 74 (ἐρνας: i.e. περνάς, not ἐρνας); IV. 91 (πέλανον: i.e. πελανόν); VII. 46 (ὀι: perhaps taken for article — wrongly; hardly "aporiae indicium," Crusius).

¹ The coronis (´), usually written at the top of the line (at I. 15 and II. 83, at the bottom), always appears to indicate elision at the end of words. It seems to have been put in by the first hand, except at VI. 3 (οὐδ'έν). The other cases are: I. 15, μυιοσον = μυῖα ὄσον; II. 24, ἐμ' ου = ἔμ' οὐ = ἐμέ οὐ; III. 49, καληθιν' = κάληθινα; IV. 5, κ'ωνπερ = κῶνπερ; IV. 16, αλεκτορ'ιητρα = ἀλεκτορά ἱητρα; IV. 41, κυδιλλ'ιονσα = Κυδιλλα ἰοῦσα. The only doubtful case is II. 83, καντοστας, αυτου: this must be καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ σὰ αὐτοῦ, hardly τὰ σεαυτοῦ, certainly not, in the light of all our examples, τὰς αὐτοῦ (Doric short α). The cases show that the mark is not necessarily used, as in the Codex Alexandrinus, to separate words as words, nor like the διαστολή (ὑποδιαστολή): ὅταν διαστείλαι καὶ διαχωρίσαι ὀφείλωμέν τινα λέξιν (e.g., ἔστιν, ἄξιος, not ἔστι Νάξιος: Bekker, *Anecd. Graeca*, II. p. 675); some of the examples, however, might be explained as instances of the diastole: e.g., II. 24 (ἐμ'ου, not μου), III. 49 (καληθιν', not καλήθ'ινα), etc. Cf. Gardthausen, *Griech. Paläographie*, pp. 273 f.

² In *Proem.* II (Cr.) τακυλλ·αιδιν, the point appears to be intended only to mark off the words τὰ κυλλὰ and αἰδιν: it can have no force for punctuation here; cf. IV. 50 (εσσετ·ημερα), but see p. 182, note 1. (In I. 3 [τις·] the dot is merely a part of the sigma: likewise at II. 6 [κλ'ανσαι], the mark above the λ is part of an unfinished α, begun too near the λ; cf. I. 51; at VII. 48 [ἔκως], the mark on ο is part of a φ in the preceding line.) For some remarks on the use of the signs (·, ·) see below, pp. 177, 178 notes.

An examination of the photographic facsimile of the manuscript discovers about one hundred and ten cases of such intentional spacings. Of these not more than from two to six are in any way ambiguous, and a fair consideration, it seems to me, would deny ambiguity to all.¹ The remainder, over one hundred and four, are nothing but indications of punctuation, for which we have in our modern editions our various signs. A classification of these examples according to the punctuation adopted in the latest text-edition of Herondas (*Bibliotheca Teubneriana*: ed. Otto Crusius, 1892), which errs by no means on the side of excessive punctuation, yields the following groupings:—

a.—The breaks accompany a *change of speaker*² in the dialogue at I. 7* (ἐστιν; Γυλλίς), 20, 82; II. 48; III. 58, 78*, 81, 82, 87, 93; V. 31, 55; VI. 15, 17, 19*, 22*, 23*, 25; and are thus represented by our period, colon, dash, or question-mark (the last indicated by the *).

b.—They stand at the end of a question in the examples starred above, and in the following additional cases where no change of speaker occurs after them: I. 9, 48 [?]; III. 43, 60; IV. 57 (perhaps an exclamation, οἶα ἔργα;); V. 10, 18, 41, 75; VI. 10, 44, 45, 75, 76; VIII. 4, 5. In these cases they are represented by a *question-mark*.

c.—Many have the value indicated by Crusius by a *period*: most of the unstarred cases under *a*, and the following additional examples: I. 8, 79; II. 68; III. 59; IV. 33; V. 20, 56, 66, 67, 74; VII. 4, 117.

d.—They have the value of a *colon* at I. 15, 66, 82; III. 11, 26; IV. 21, 55, 92, 93; V. 6; VI. 5, 31, 61; VII. 65, 128; VIII. 11; and of something like it at IV. 58.

¹ The apparently exceptional cases are discussed below; see pp. 173 f. Occasionally, but extremely rarely, when the large bulk of the writing is considered, we find other slight breaks. In most of these instances the letters of a verse have been written more sprawlingly than usual, and thus give the appearance of spacing where no pause is intended. I have observed only these examples: γάρ, ἡμέων (I. 46); ποθέων (I. 60); μετελθεῖν· ἦν, θύρην (II. 50); κείνον, δέ (IV. 30); οἷ, τος (V. 43); τοῦ, τον (V. 58); ἡμέων (VI. 82). (In the apparent Φιλαίνου, I. 5, the letter iota has disappeared, leaving only a slight trace.) Such is not the explanation of the pause in I. 55, discussed on pp. 186 ff.

² Change of speakers is usually indicated, but with many omissions, by the παράγραφος; see pp. 178 ff.

e.—Crusius represents them by a *comma* at I. 13 (*bis*), 67, 89; II. 22, 49, 77; III. 49, 81 (παῦσαι, *ἱκαναί*); IV. 43, 46, 90; V. 9, 25, 34, 42 (τοῦδε, *καὶ* σύ), 53, 69 (τατί, *ἄλλά*), 70; VI. 3 (αὐτήν, *σύ*), 12, 18, 49, 77, [96, after *τε*]; VII. 57 (*bis*), 58 (before *κανναβίσκα*), 60 (after *ἀκροσφύρια*), 61 (after *ἔφηβοι*), 98, 110.

f.—In the following verses, where the spacings are indicated by the sign of caret, Crusius inserts no mark of punctuation; but no one can deny that at least a strong phrasing, if not punctuation, was distinctly intended: II. 2 (οὐκ ἐστὲ | ἡμέων κριταὶ δῆκουθεν, οὐδὲ τῆς δόξης); III. 10 (τὸν μισθὸν αἰτεῖ, *κῆν* τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω); IV. 83 (εὐμενὴς εἶης | καλῶς ἐπ' ἱροῖς ταῖσδε, *κεῖ* τινες τῶνδε | ἕας' ὀπνηταί); IV. 42 (οὐ σοὶ λέγω, *αὕτη* τῇ . . . χασκούσῃ); and 55 (αὕτη σύ, *λ* μείνον); III. 25 (τριθῆμέρα Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος | τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶ, *λ* τὸν Μάρωνα ἐποίησεν | οὗτος Σίμωνα); IV. 24 (οὐχ ὁρῆς κείνα | ἐν τῇ βάσει, *λ* τὰ γράμματα; i.e. 'Don't you see those [things] on the pedestal, the letters?'); perhaps also IV. 59 (τὸν παῖδα δῆλ', *λ* τὸν) γυμνόν).

At III. 80 there is a pause which taken in connexion with the corrections at this point is extremely significant. As first copied, uncorrected, vv. 79, 80 read (in part): (79) ITICOIZWHN (80) ΦΕΡ ΟC—ACANHKAKHCΘΕNHIBYPCAI. The corrector, evidently the first hand, having previously designated 80 as corrupt (by an oblique line in the margin opposite ΦΕΡ; see p. 181) sets himself to correct it. He puts a mark of erasure over the N of ZWHN (superior dot); writes in, in the upper part of the space after ΦΕΡ, the letters ΕΙΝ; and draws his reed through the two I's (at CΘΕNH I mistakenly; at BYPCAI apparently correctly; probably these I's were earlier cancelled by the copyist, as he wrote). These facts show that the original manuscript from which the papyrus was transcribed read something as follows, of course metrically an improbable reading:

METROTIME (*to the master*). εἴ τί σοι ζώην,
φέρ',—ᾧσας ἂν ἡ κακὴ σθένῃ βύρσα :

i.e. 'If I am anything to you (cf. V. 70), come,—[give him] all the blows his vile hide may bear.' The corrector, however, so radically modifies the text that it seems obvious, either (1) that the manuscript, at the time it was copied (for the hands in ΕΙΝ and ΦΕΡ are the same), was corrected by comparison with another manuscript containing different readings, or (2) that our copy was made from dictation,

the scribe not distinctly hearing the words. The second alternative cannot be adopted; see p. 183, note 2. The first alternative is supported by other inserted readings. Now the reading *φέρειν* could not have been in the original: otherwise the space after *φερ* would not have been made. We infer accordingly that in the manuscript used for correction the text read:

METROTIME (*to her son*). εἰ τί σοι ζωή,
φέρειν ὅσας ἂν ἡ κακὴ σθένει βύρσα.

‘While your life holds out, you’ll have to get all the blows your vile hide can stand (or that the cowhide is good for).’

There are now left six cases, which upon first examination appear to be exceptions to the law that spacing always indicates punctuation.¹ These are I. 1 and 64; V. 68; VII. 110 and 118; and VIII. 3. (1.) In the difficult and corrupt passage I. 64 we are not shut up to one reading; the space after *πρήξεις* favors a reading like that first proposed by Crusius: ἂ *πρήξεις*, ἡδέ’ ἐστὶ κτλ., or Blass’s *δοιὰ πρήξεις*, ἡδονὴν κτλ., rather than Bücheler’s or Crusius’s in the text-edition, although it is not wholly impossible with the latter.² (2.) At VII. 118, the papyrus reads: ΥΩΡΗ (118) ΑΡΗΡΕΝΟΤΤΛΗ ΒΟΥΚΟΛΑΚΤΙ-
CACYMAC. Bücheler’s *ψωρή* | ἄρηρεν ὀπλή, βούς ὁ λακτίσας ὑμᾶς — ‘scabra congruit ungula, bos pressit vos calce’ — gives excellent sense, besides preserving the punctuation, and therefore may be preferred to Crusius’s *ψωρή* | ἄρηρεν ὀπλή βούς ὁ λακτίσας ὑμᾶς — ‘Der Ochs der euch versohlt hat, führt eine räudige Klaue.’ The cases VII. 110, V. 68, and VIII. 3 belong together. (3.) In VII. 110 (ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ γλᾶσαν, ἡδονῆς δ’ ἡθμόν), there is a strong rhetorical pause before οὐχὶ whereby οὐχὶ γλᾶσαν becomes parenthetical. (4.) At V. 68 (κατηρτήσθω οὐτω κατὰ μὺς ὥσπερ ἡ Δάου τίμη), the interesting pause seems to be a rhetorical one, due to the verb that must be supplied, of which τίμη is subject. (5.) In VIII. 3 (ἡ προσμενεῖς σύ, μέγρι σευ ἥλιος θάλπει | [τὸν κ]υσὸν ἐσδύς), the space is not large and may be accidental, but a rhetorical pause is quite probable here also, especially if we read μέγρις εὔ. It is not unlikely that the passage is

¹ Among the exceptions I should not include I. 55 (*ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς*); see below, pp. 187 ff. The text at VIII. 28 ([ἀ]ναλέσθαι κη: *Frag.* 2. 7), and at *Proem.* 9 (*δευτερηγν*) is too fragmentary to be taken into consideration.

² Diels proposes *πρήξεις*, ἡδέως δὲ τερφθείσῃ.

slightly corrupt, and that the pause may be not original.¹ (6.) There remains I. 1 (*ἀράσσει τὴν θύρην, τις· οὐκ ὄψει | εἰ κτλ.*).² If we are to adopt this punctuation as one originally intended in thought, we may suppose that the scribe, by whom the original was made of which our manuscript is a transcript, was misled by the form of *τις*: he took the pronoun with the *οὐ* as an interrogative beginning the sentence, and therefore spaced it off from the preceding word (cf. IV. 21; VI. 18). Our scribe merely copies what he has before him.

Of the six doubtful cases, then, one is probably due to a copyist's mental confusion; two cease to be exceptions upon the adoption of otherwise approved readings; and three, if not purely accidental, likewise cease to be exceptional if we admit the possibility of the

¹ The synzesis of *ευ + η*, across a pause in the sense, is not an objection: cf. III. 81 (*παῦσαι, ικαναί*), and IV. 50 (*μαρτύρομαι, φημί· ἔσσει' ἡμέρη κελνη*). But the place is otherwise open to criticism, and from several points of view appears to be corrupt. As it stands it would probably be better to take it as *μέχρις εὖ ἥλιος θάλπει* (for *εὖ* compare VII. 123, — where read *τὴν . . . βαλτην | θάλπουσαν εὖ δεῖ' νδον . . . καὶ ῥάπτειν* — and for the position of *εὖ* compare also Dem. Cor. 144, *εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθέν*, or Plat. *Rep.* I. 329 C, *εὖ οὖν μοι καὶ τότε ἔδοξεν ἐκείνος εἰπεῖν*); or, possibly, *μέχρι σ' εὖ θάλπει*. But the synzesis *ευ + η* is perhaps too harsh to be allowed even to Herondas. The papyrus has only one other instance, *τό μεν αἶμα* (V. 7), but a similar synzesis in *ικετεύω* (III. 71) was avoided by the corrector by erasing the *υ*. And at II. 43, where *μέχρις οὖ* — a not dissimilar diphthong, though elsewhere freely suffering synzesis — is used, hiatus is permitted (*μέχρις οὖ εἴπη*). Perhaps even *τό μεν αἶμα*, in V. 7, is an analogical form, and should be written *τό μεο αἶμα*: compare *τέο* in VIII. 1 (*τεῦ*, II. 98) and *σέω* *πρῆξις* (= *σέο ἡ πρῆξις*, Cr.), VII. 96, if reference may be made to so problematical a passage. If, now, we reject the present reading because of its extraordinary synzesis, the words will be seen to be an easy palaeographical corruption of *ΜΕΧΡΙCOYΗΛΙΟC* (cf. *μέχρις οὖ εἴπη*, II. 43, and *ἄχρις ἥλιος δύη*, II. 88), or, since that combination is objectionable because it made hiatus at II. 43, and must not here, *ΜΕΧΡΙCOΗΛΙΟC* (cf. *τ[οῦ ἡλ]λου δύντος*, II. 13). In the latter case the *CO* might have been taken for *EO* (Cobet, *Nov. Lect.* pp. 178f.), and this easily written into the more familiar *EY*. This process was, of course, helped by the *ΜΕΧΡΙCEY*, a few lines below (*μέχρι σευ*, but perhaps *μέχρις εὖ*). In this line (VIII. 3) we can hardly make the letters = *μέχρις εὖ*, as an hyperionism for *μέχρις οὖ*, under the influence of the foregoing *μέχρι τέο* (v. 1).

² Can we take *ἀράσσει* impersonally, and read the verse: *Θρεῖσσα, ἀράσσει τὴν θύρην. τίς; οὐκ ὄψει κτλ.*? (Cf. Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm.* II. p. 30.) It is perhaps better, however, to explain it as above, if after all the pause be not an accidental one, like those in *οὐ_λτος* (V. 43), and *τοῦ_λτον* (V. 58) mentioned at p. 171, note 1.

use of the space to suggest merely a slight rhetorical pause, such as was regularly indicated by the *στιγμὴ μέση* in the writing of the Roman period.¹

It may, therefore, be reaffirmed with emphasis, that in the Herondas papyrus the blank spaces between certain words in the verses always have the value of strong interpunctuation, and must be carefully heeded by all who would seek to construct the text or to interpret the poet.

But the punctuation by spacing goes only a little way. If it had been applied consistently and completely, we should have had more nearly a thousand than a hundred cases to register.

II. *Στιγμαί*. — Punctuation is also indicated in the papyrus by the use of the dot or point in the line. This method of punctuation has not the significance of the former for purposes of text-criticism, since it may be in large part the arbitrary work of later correctors or readers, whereas the spacing must have been made by the original scribe, and can have been only a reproduction of what he had before him. Punctuation according to spacings may go back to Herondas; but that by points hardly.

Some of the points or dots in the text may be mere blots, — for we find others like them in the middle of words, or hanging on the tips of thickly-written letters, — or even parts of letters detached from the body of their letters on fibres of papyrus slightly shredded off. Again, very frequently the intentional dot does duty in Herondas to indicate omission or erasure, and is then regularly placed above the letter or letters to be rejected: occasionally it is also placed, both above and below, and once in a while at the right side or on both sides² of the objectionable word or letters. In the latter position it may lead to a confusion with the use of the point for punctuation. Actual cancellation is effected by drawing a line obliquely, or sometimes horizontally, across the undesired letters, syllables, or signs: it is sometimes combined with omission as indicated by a superior dot

¹ On the use of the *μέση* see Blass, *Griechische Palaeographie*, in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, I². pp. 311, 312, 323.

² For example at I. 50 (*Πατακιου·Γυλλου·*), where the marginal *Γρυλ(λος)* is to replace the word in the text. Possibly the point in II. 98 (after *Φοιβη*) has a like value; but its mate is not visible at the beginning of the word, nor has any substitute or gloss been written on the margin.

(see IV. 67). It is not unlikely, though not certain, that this cancellation was done by the first hand, in the progress of his writing: see IV. 83, where in ΕΜΠ the Μ is cancelled, and the correct Π placed just after, though it is possible that the scribe here wrote out ΕΜΠΡ at first. The dots indicating omission were added on the revision by the corrector, who was apparently the first hand (see on III. 80, above, pp. 172 ff., also p. 184).

The points as distinctly used for punctuation¹ may be grouped as follows: cases where they are by Crusius represented by periods, by interrogation-points, by colons, and by commas. Where the *στιγμή* falls at the close of the verse it is designated in my list by an asterisk.

a.—Periods: I. 3 (ΕΓΩΔΕ·; point at middle); I. 4 (ACCON*); I. 8 (ΔΟΥΛΗ·; middle); I. 82 (ΠΕΙΘΙ·; middle); II. 98 (ΦΟΙΒΗ·; perhaps middle); VI. 5 (ΜΕΤΡΕΩ* with Η· written above Ε; unless the point here merely indicates erasure of Η on second thoughts [so Crusius, and cf. III. 62], it means that we are to read ΜΕΤΡΗ· with full pause, and not ΜΕΤΡΗΩ); VII. 76 (ΠΡΗΞΙ·: if this be a *στιγμή*; if a line, there are no similar uses in the papyrus); VII. 113 (ΘΩΜΕΝ·).

b.—Question-marks: I. 3 (ΘΥΡΗΝ.; interrupted question); I. 3 (CY·); I. 4 (ΠΡΟΞΕΛΘΙΝ·).

c.—Colons: IV. 21 (ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΩΝ·); VII. 114 (ΠΑΖ·; middle).

d.—Commas: I. 8 (ΤΙ·; middle); IV. 37 (ΒΑΤΑΛΗΝ·).

A glance at this list shows at once the futility of attempting to identify these points with any ancient system of *στιγμαί* (*τελεία*, *ὑποστιγμή* [and *μέση*]). They are inserted with little discrimination. Thus all three are used to indicate a strong pause; the “*τελεία*” at I. 4 has very strong force; less at IV. 21. The “*ὑποστιγμή*” is weak at IV. 37, less weak at I. 3, and rather strong at VII. 113. Probably the papyrus is not carefully enough written to justify us in very nice distinctions between the “*μέση*” and either of the others, but a difference is certainly to be observed between the top and bottom of the line as places to receive the points. And we must also bear in mind that some of these cases may well be those of accidental

¹ The following cases appear to be accidental: in V. 21 the point under *μ* of *μνας*; and the points on both sides of *λ* in VIII. 42 (ο·λ·ηι), where the sense demands ούλη.

blots. Probably some early owner of the papyrus began with the good intention of putting the points in (διαστίξαι τὸν Ἡρώδαν), but soon gave up the task. It will be observed that eight out of the thirteen or fourteen στιγμαί are found in the first mime, and most of these near the beginning.

II.

THE παράγραφος AND ὀβελός.¹

I. Παράγραφος. — A short horizontal line, drawn distinctly, firmly, and usually with full reed, is frequently met with in the papyrus, and has various values.² Within the verses and between the lines, where it occurs rarely, it is placed close above certain letters, regularly vowels: in this position so miscellaneous seem to be its functions that we cannot speak more definitely of it than to say that it calls attention to something noteworthy in the letters or words marked.³

¹ On this name see p. 180, note 4.

² The sign (˘) is used five times in Herondas, and, as — with perhaps one exception — it is always over short syllables, it may be identified with the sign invented by the Alexandrine metricians to indicate a short syllable (βραχεία, πρῶτος χρόνος). The sign cannot be taken as a rhythmical sign, since while ordinarily in the ἄρσις, at VII. 108 it stands on one of the resolved feet in the θέσις. The cases are I. 50 (ὁ Ματᾶκ[ί]νης); I. 56 (Μῦσης); IV. 30 (τὸν γέροντᾰ; πρὸς Μοιρέων); VII. 108 ([δύ]ναιτό μᾰ ἑλᾶσαι); and the puzzling IV. 62, which has given rise to a spirited controversy (see Crusius, *Philol.* 50 (1891), p. 446; Ludwich, *Berl. Phil. Woch. S.*, 1892, pp. 642, 1349, and L. Müller, *ibid.* p. 995). Here the original draft had ΠΥΡΑΚΤΟΝ, or ΠΥΡΑΚΤΟΝ: over T a P is written and upon T and A stand the marks ˘, ˘. Meister's *πύρακτρον* is now adopted by both Kenyon and Crusius. The first syllable of the word, contrary to usage, is here metrically long: hence it is marked; it also has the acute accent. The second sign perhaps refers to the original or natural quantity of the syllable in *πύρακτρον*, which — on this theory — the scribe must have thought he had before him, in his original: otherwise the sign is unintelligible to me. For *πύρακτρον*, cf. *πυράκη*, *Anth. Pal.* VI. 117.

³ The examples of this sign (˘) in the papyrus are the following: over *iota*, III. 74 (ἶσ = εἶς); III. 79 (ῑ = εἶ, followed by enclitic); V. 5 (προφασῖσ = προφάσεις); V. 18 (φερῖσ = φέρεῖς, Cr.: probably φέρ' εἶς); *Proem.* 11 (ἐπῖουσι = ?); IV. 43 (ματῖν, a short vowel: perhaps a mark of cancellation?); VI. 25 (Βῖτᾰτος, a short vowel); and perhaps in the obscurely written I. 82 (δεῖξον = ?), unless here it be meant for the superior dot indicating erasure, the scribe mistakenly thinking of δέξο. The only other cases are: over *alpha*, III. 79 (τᾰτᾰ), and

But the chief use of the horizontal line in the papyrus is to indicate a change of speaker in the dialogue, and in this function it may be identified with the very ancient sign known as the παράγραφος. In cases of this sort it is always placed just under the beginning of a line, slightly projecting into the margin, and shows that within the line

IV. 56 (καὶνείθ), both at the beginning of the line; over τ, IV. 62, πύραστρον (πύραγρον?) cited in the previous note.

It will be noticed that, in all the cases where the sign is used with iota having the value of *ei*, there exists a second form, with which confusion might arise: thus at III. 74, *ēis* and *eis*; III. 79, *ēi* and *ei*; V. 5, *προφάσεις*, not *πρόφασις*. Since *ἐρείς* is at IV. 28 given by *ερισ*, it is probable that a different expression was meant in the *φερίσ* of V. 18, i.e. *φέρ' eis*. The form at *Proem.* 11 (*ἐπίουσι*) is enigmatical. Crusius takes it for *ἐπιούσι*, but Diels and Bücheler render it by *ἐπίζουσι*. Perhaps the mark over the iota merely calls attention to the anomalous quantity of the vowel.

Since the sign (˘), as used in the papyrus, may with probability be identified with the Alexandrine sign for the short syllable, one is tempted to connect this sign with the Alexandrine (˘) used to designate a long syllable (*μακρά, χρόνος, δίσσημος*). But the data will not support such a conclusion. The sign has not metrical value, since it stands over long and short (IV. 43, VI. 25) syllables without distinction. Nor has it rhythmical value, since, while on syllables under the *θέσις* at [I. 82], III. 74, 79, IV. 62, V. 18, and *Proem.* 11, in an equal number of cases its syllables are in the *ἄρσις* (III. 79; IV. 43, 56; V. 5; VI. 25). Its peculiar use in connexion with duplicate values of iota which could not be or had not been differentiated by the addition of an accent, its possible use with *δεῖξον* (I. 82) taken in an unusual sense, and its erratic application to other syllables lead one to believe that, as inserted by the scribe of the papyrus, it was nothing more than an intermarginal "obelus," intended to call attention to dubious or peculiar forms and uses. Unlike the "obeli" discussed below, these cases were probably a tradition from the original manuscript (see pp. 180 ff.).

Several apparent "obeli" of this sort require attention. In I. 7 the mark after *καλι* is hardly a "paragraphus" (Crusius), at least in the sense of a sign indicating punctuation; it is rather part of the upper bar of the following τ; the papyrus fibres (vertical) have shredded loose at this point, and sagged down, as a comparison of the writing above and below will demonstrate. — The mark over the first α of *Māτᾱ* in I. 50 does seem to me an intended ˘; it is rather a thickened fibre of the papyrus. — At V. 17 (*μῶρα*), the mark is probably an acute accent, the scribe taking the word as *μῶραν*, not *μῶραν*. — The peculiar line over the first ν in VII. 77 (*τὸν τῖμον*) is nothing more than a part of the following τ. — In II. 73 the line over the much blotted τ (?) in Φιλι[τ]]s must be the remnant of a letter suggested for the place, perhaps a sprawling τ. — In I. 54 the line over τ in τ[ὸ καλόν] appears to be the horizontal stroke of a τ begun too high.

above, or at the end of the line, there is a transition to a second speaker. In this place it never has any other meaning. Not taking into account the ornamental forms of the sign found under and adjoining the closing lines of each mime,¹ there are sixty-three cases of the use of the *παράγραφος* in Herondas to indicate change of speaker. These do not, however, comprise the total number of necessary changes of this sort; hardly more than from sixty to sixty-five per cent.

The *παράγραφος* indicates a change of speaker at the end of the line in the following verses: I. 66; III. 70, 76, 83, 85, 86, 88; IV. 18 [?], 38, 51, 53, 71, 78; V. 3, 7, 9, 18, 19, 25, 28, 34, 36, 38, 39, 62, 68, 79, 80; VI. 11, 21, 26, 36, 56, 73, 78, 79, 84, 88, 92; VII. 63, 76, 78, 82, 90, 92. It indicates a change of speaker in the middle of the verse, there being none at the end, in I. 7; III. 58, 81, 87; IV. 88; V. 73; VI. 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 47, 97; VII. 3. At II. 78, it shows, like our marks of quotation, that the speaker has finished his own remarks, and is now about to introduce a citation from the laws of Chaerondas.

Only at one place, out of the sixty-three cases, is the *παράγραφος* certainly wrongly applied: at V. 55 it comes a line too soon. (At I. 65 it also comes a line too soon, but it is there cancelled, and given correctly below under line 66.) In the distribution among the speakers proposed by Bücheler and Crusius, though not in that proposed by Rutherford, it would seem that also after I. 81 and IV. 34 the *παράγραφος* had been wrongly used. But in view of the number of correct examples and of the nature of the blunders made, we ought to be slow to admit exceptions here. The verse I. 82 may well be put into the mouth of Threissa,² and the words in IV. 35-38 could have been said by one of the maids. At all events it can be urged that such was the distribution of parts in the manuscript from which the papyrus was copied, though this may not have been the original intention of the poet.

¹ At the close of a book the ornamental finial sign was called the *κορωνίς*: Isidore, *Orig.* I. 21; cf. Blass, *Griech. Palaeographie*, p. 311. In this papyrus it often resembles the *διπλὴ ἀπερίστικτος*, with additional flourishes.

² This has been proposed, on other grounds, by O. Ribbeck, *Rhein. Museum* 47 (1892), p. 629.

There appears to be little doubt that the mark (-) above letters and the παράγραφος were inserted by the first hand.¹

II. ὀβελός. — With the παράγραφος must not be confused other short lines — not marks of accent or of quantity — found both in the text and on the margin of the papyrus: they are usually drawn from right to left obliquely downward.² When placed in the body of the text, a line of this description — sometimes here taking a horizontal position, and ordinarily roughly drawn — actually cancels an objectionable letter or group of letters; I think these marks were, as a rule, made by the scribe in the progress of his writing, whereas erasures suggested on the revision are designated by the superior dot. In one place this mark appears to cancel a faultily placed παράγραφος (I. 65).

But the chief function of this obliquely drawn line is to call attention to verses³ requiring examination for one reason or another: and, since in this function — though hardly in its form — it resembles the ὀβελός of the Alexandrines, it may provisionally receive this name.⁴ In these cases it is placed on the left margin directly opposite, or near, the first letter of the line in question. While it signalizes many verses it by no means calls attention to all corrupt readings or obscure passages. In many instances, if not in all, it appears to be the work of the first hand or of an immediate contemporary, since it not seldom calls attention to omission of letters, or to incorrect letters, where the correction is made by the first hand. But not all of the corrections that it points out as necessary are actually made, nor when made are they invariably in the first hand. The cases of the use of this obelus, which is extremely important for the text-criticism of our poet, may be grouped as follows:

a. — It designates verses where *letters* have been *omitted*, or

¹ The nature of the blunders made in inserting the παράγραφοι appears to prove that the signs were copied by the scribe after he had written a considerable part of the text, and were not due to his own conjecture.

² In IV. 51 the line has the opposite slant.

³ In II. 36 the mark is placed opposite a word in the verse (οικιαν). This is the only clear case where it is found not in the margin, in this function.

⁴ It is probably forcing language a little to name this sign an ὀβελός. The obelus of Homeric and Platonic text-criticism was used distinctively to indicate athetesis; combined with other signs, however, it had many other values. Thus

wrongly given, in the first draft, but are supplied or corrected either by the first or by a later hand: II. 3 (NYN becomes νηνν, with H written above by first hand); III. 45 (HMΘA—ημαιθα, AI above, late hand?); III. 46 (KΛAIOYCAEKACTOY—A before E erased in line); III. 80 (ΦEP OCAC—φερεινοσας, ειν written above, first hand; see pp. 172 f.); IV. 10 (ΙΔΕΩ—A above the Δ, first hand?); IV. 67 (av]ACIMOC—CΙΛΛOC, first hand?; earlier in the line also erasures by cancellation and superior points); IV. 76 (after EPΓA, TA inserted, late hand [Crusius]?).

b.—In the following, marks of *accent* are added: II. 83 (KAYTOCTACAYTOYΘAΗ; acute on first O, circumflex on H; also coronis at bottom of line after TAC: all probably by first hand); III. 6 (XAAKINΔA, acute on I); and VIII. 14 (ANNA, circumflex on ultima; first hand). See also IV. 2, under d, below.

c.—At III. 49, KAAHΘIN WCTE, after N above the line, in the first hand, a *coronis* is inserted, probably in first draft; also at II. 83 (see under b above).

d.—A *short vowel* is designated as such in VII. 108 (ΕΛΑCΑΙ; a ˘ over A, in first hand?), and at IV. 2 (ΠΥPACTON; a short ˘ is put over A, but at the same time a P is written above the T; the Y also bears a ˘: see p. 177, note 2, above).¹

e.—At the following places a *corrupt text* is indicated but no attempt is made to correct it, either by the first hand or by later

among the τὰ παρατιθέμενα τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς στίχοις Ἀριστάρχεια σημεῖα we read of the obelus, figured as a short horizontal line: ὁ δὲ ὀβελὸς πρὸς τὰ ἀθετούμενα ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ἤγουν νενοθυμένα ἢ ὑποβεβλημένα (Osann, *Anecd. Romanum*, p. 3; cf. Nauck, *Lex. Vindob.* pp. 271 f., also 274 f., 277 f.). In Plato texts: ὀβελὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν· ὀβελὸς περιεστιγμένος πρὸς τοὺς εἰκάλους ἀθετήσεις (Diog. Laert. III. 66). Our “obelus” in Herondas may sometimes be used with this value, but probably not: its various uses, as we have surveyed them, better fit the Aristarchean διπλῇ ἀπερίστικτος (πρὸς τὰ ἐνάντια καὶ μαχόμενα, καὶ ἕτερα σχήματα πάμπολλα καὶ ζητήματα). It also differs from the obelus of the classical manuscripts, in that on our theory it is merely a conventional sign, originally adopted by our scribe and used by him as a memorandum, whereas the ordinary obeli represent a tradition of literary criticism going back usually to the Alexandrine age, and were copied from manuscript to manuscript; cf. Weil, *Mélanges Graux*, pp. 13 ff., on obeli in the mss. Σ and B of Demosthenes.

¹ Except at this place, which was probably obelized for other reasons, no (˘) is found at all in obelized verses. This suggests that these (˘) marks were in the text before the obeli were written on the margin.

hands: V. 59, Rutherford supplies <σ>ε; VI. 63, ΟΙΚΕΙΝ corrected by Crusius to οἰκέην [i.e. οἰκείην], by Rutherford and others to οἰκίην; VII. 35 a fragmentary verse: obelus of peculiar form, inserted at first draft?; VII. 46, if not a grave accent, the obelus calls attention to ambiguous grouping of letters; VII. 88, 96, corrupt lines: restoration uncertain; VII. 110, end of line unintelligible to scribe: probably ἡθμόν; VII. 126, correction is attempted but left incomplete: VIII. 21, fragmentary line.

f. — In three places there seems to be nothing the matter with the text; all of the lines, however, appear to have something interesting to the scribe: IV. 32, its ambiguous construction; IV. 50, perhaps, its droll Homeric reminiscence, and VII. 71, the extraordinary form of oath.¹ Except for the consistent and exclusive use of the oblique line elsewhere to indicate corruption of text, we might infer that it was here used, like the διπλῇ ἀπερίστικτος, ascribed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, to point out passages remarkable for some reason or other. Otherwise it may have been only an accidental memorandum sign arbitrarily adopted by the scribe when engaged in revision.

III.

THE EARLIEST CORRECTIONS.

THE subject of the earliest corrections in the papyrus, — their relation to the original, and to later corrections, and their chronological sequence — is important in determining the character of the original of our copy and that of other manuscripts possibly used for collation. It is at the same time an extremely difficult subject, especially when investigated through the medium of a photographic facsimile of the papyrus, in which many peculiarities of the original fail to reproduce themselves. My remarks on this subject are offered tentatively: they are doubtless open to correction in detail, though I trust not to serious modification.

¹ Possibly, however, we ought to rule out these also. For in IV. 50 there seems to be a στυγμή after ἔσσετ, which, however, may have been put in, not as a punctuation mark, but like the ὑποδιαστολή — to be sure, not elsewhere occurring — to mark off the τ from ἡμέρα (cf. *Proem.* 11, for the only other certain instance of this sort in the papyrus; but see above, p. 170, note 2). And in VII. 71, attention may have been merely called to μά, as different from the μᾶ, with circumflex accent, elsewhere found in the manuscript (e.g. I. 85, IV. 20, etc.).

An independent examination of the internal evidence available, in the collection of which the notes of Kenyon and of Crusius have been most helpful, makes it possible for us to reconstruct the early history of our papyrus somewhat as follows :

The scribe had before him, as the original to be copied, a manuscript in which the verses were written line by line, with occasional spacings to indicate punctuation ; it was also provided, at least to some extent, with diacritical marks — *παράγραφοι*, the signs ῥ, ῖ, but not completely at least with signs for accent. It was written on the whole legibly, and in a style of writing not differing essentially from that of the papyrus, and exhibited peculiarities of orthography such as prevailed only in late Alexandrine times, and afterward. Not to take into consideration the perishableness¹ of papyrus manuscripts when much used, this original could not have been prepared much before the first century B.C., if even as early as that.

This original manuscript the scribe now copies,² with reasonable fidelity, cutting himself a new reed once or twice. In copying he makes mistakes of various sorts : occasionally he unconsciously changes the Ionic forms of the original into the more familiar Attic forms,³ and sometimes slightly blunders in his grammar and syntax ;⁴ here and there he appears to be carrying the thought, and not the exact words of the original in his mind, and thus when he writes he unconsciously substitutes a new word for the word first read ;⁵ of course he makes mistakes in reading the letters, and occasionally gives us nonsense, and also writes verses metrically impossible.

¹ Cf. Plin. *N. H.* XIII. 83 : he speaks of papyri two hundred years old as *longinqua monumenta*, rarely met with.

² That our copy was not written from dictation is clear from the nature of several blunders, where the forms of the letters, not their sounds, are misapprehended : e.g. I. 2 (ΑΠΟΙΚΙΗC for ΑΓΡΟΙΚΙΗC) ; I. 76 (ΔΙ for Π, in Δωθεω) ; V. 65 (ΕΑΘΙΝ for ΕΛΘΙΝ : ἐλθεῖν) ; III. 19 (ΔΑΙπαρωτεραι : ΑΙ for ΑΙ : i.e. δὲ λιπαρώτεραι) ; III. 34 (ΑΥ for ΑΓ in αγρευ) ; IV. 94 (Δωι for Δωι).

³ For example : I. 39 (χημερασ for κημερασ) ; II. 7 ([πό]λεωσ for [πό]λιος) ; II. 36 (οικιαν for οικην) ; III. 59 (που for κου) ; V. 63 (αυθισ for αυτισ), etc.

⁴ He makes *λίθος* masculine in IV. 21 ; writes aorist subjunctive for future indicative in VIII. 3 (θάλψη after μέχρη(s)), and present subjunctive for aorist optative in III. 52 (βαλλι changed to βαλοι).

⁵ At II. 64 he writes *μοιραν*, but at once changes it to *μισθον* by drawing his pen through the middle letters and writing *ισθο* over *οιρα*. At III. 82 he wrote

Some of his errors he detects just after they have been made, and these he corrects on the spot, either, when possible, by changing the actual forms of the letters, or by drawing his reed across the wrong letters and writing the correct ones just above. In the actual progress of writing the first draft he probably does not copy the *παράγραφοι*, possibly not all the diacritical marks, and certainly not all the accents.

His draft now completed, he takes it in hand for revision. That the original scribe revises the manuscript, and not another hand, is clear from the handwriting of many of the corrections. At first he carefully collates his copy with the original, and corrects innumerable blunders. It is at this time¹ that he puts in the *παράγραφοι*, and some of the diacritical marks: letters and words to be omitted he now neatly indicates by putting points over them; letters or words to be substituted he now writes in between the lines, just above those that he had mistakenly written. Some of the errors or obscurities in his own written copy he cannot correct from his original: in these instances he dashes an "obelus" in the margin to mark the verse as one requiring subsequent attention.²

This collation now finished — a hurried collation, since he leaves a number of corrupt passages, not only uncorrected, but also unnoticed — he examines the "obelized" lines in detail, and here for the first time appears to have called in the aid of a second manu-

παίζω (fut. of *παίζω*; probably thinking of what he had written at 63; for the form, cf. *Anth. Pal.* XII. 211, *Anacreont.* 38. 8): the correct word was *πρήξω*. At III. 63, where he first wrote *πεμπειν*, probably following his copy, he at once changes the word to *παιζειν*, apparently a sudden conjectural emendation suggested by the context; *πέμπειν* is more probable: cf. Crusius *ad loc.*

¹ The fact that the *παράγραφοι* are twice put in a line too soon suggests that the scribe's eye ran down the column as he inserted them, and this would not have been the case if he had written them in each time after writing the line (cf. I. 65, V. 55).

² Cases where the obelized lines contain corrections certainly written by the first hand are II. 36, III. 80, IV. 11 and 67; perhaps also IV. 76. There is uncertainty about some of the other lines.

It might be urged that the obelus was inserted by a late hand to call attention to much-corrected verses. But it may be replied, first, that the obeli have the characteristics of the first hand, and, secondly, that many other verses showing much greater correction are not obelized. The explanation given above accounts for all the phenomena; the other one does not.

script: i.e., he uses a second manuscript only to correct otherwise obscure passages, not for the purpose of preparing a critical edition.¹ In this second manuscript the accents in particular were more fully given than in his original, and the reading of the text was different in a few places; for the obelized lines in question he adopts the readings and corrections suggested by the manuscript, though occasionally he appears to reject them on second thoughts.

From the spasmodic way in which the *στιγμαί* are put in, we might infer either that the scribe began to copy these marks while first writing, but soon wearied of the effort and gave it up, only now and then later in the progress of this writing copying a *στιγμή*, or, what is more probable, that he or another later hand at a subsequent time began, but did not complete, the task of punctuating with the points.²

The following examples, taken with those mentioned above and in the notes, will at once bear out and elucidate some of the positions here taken.

IV. 83. χ ΚΑΛΟΙCΙΕΜΤΤΡΟΙC. At first examination and comparison with his original the line looked faulty, and was obelized, but on closer comparison he found that by inserting | after ΤΤ it became intelligible. He thereupon cancels the obelus. (On the Μ, see p. 176, top.)

IV. 10. Here he had written ΙΔΕΩ, which could not be right. Appeal to the original failed to solve the doubt. An obelus is dashed in: on comparison with another manuscript, or perhaps as a result of his own conjecture, he now writes ΙΛΕΩ.

III. 36. ΟΙΚΙΑΝ. After comparing his original and correcting Α to Η,

¹ Except in obelized lines, there are no first-hand corrections in the manuscript that must be accounted for on the theory of an appeal to another manuscript. (For in VI. 38 *καλόν* for *σοφόν* is in a later hand, and in I. 15 — *μυι,οσον* — the coronis was inserted merely to indicate an elision of α (i.e., not *νίος*), of course not to differentiate *μυι' δσον* from the other reading *μυις δσον*, preserved in various proverbial forms, here given in the margin in a late hand.)

² If the insertion of the *στιγμαί* had been undertaken by the scribe, it probably would have been carried out to the end, as were the other parts of his collation. He could hardly have inserted these marks, at least at the earliest stage, except as he copied them; but it is hardly conceivable that the original manuscript could have been as erratically punctuated as the earlier *στιγμαί* indicate. The points were certainly put in after the verses were written, since no space is allowed for them. In view of all these facts it seems more likely that the *στιγμαί* were, in the main, the work of later owners of the manuscript.

the word is still puzzling: he obelizes it; later, on comparison with another manuscript, he inserts the acute accent, which shows that this is οἰκίην, not οἰκέίην (cf. VI. 63, and p. 182).

V. 19. ΔΟ is corrected to ΔΕ (δοῦμαι, i.e. δέομαι, to δεῦμαι): hence Ο and Ε in the original manuscript must have resembled each other. See on VIII. 3, above, p. 174, note 1.

VIII. 6. ΚΑΙΑΘΗCON. This reading, suggested by the ἀσθηθι at the beginning of the line, is on revision seen to be false; the scribe points C, H and C, and changes T to Y, restoring the correct reading ἄψον.

III. 45. The scribe wrote ΗΜΕΘΑ (for ἡμαῖθα), probably through association with 1st pl. mid., and not because he pronounced Ε and ΑΙ alike; the latter is not to be expected in a manuscript of this date, and there are no other cases of this confusion in the papyrus: of course early ΕΙ is often given by Ι, and not seldom even ΕΙ as written is corrected, by a superior dot, to Ι. The correction at III. 45 was made by a later hand.

The manuscript, thus prepared for use, passes into other hands. In its later history it suffers more or less modification. Errors previously undetected are now corrected (IV. 61, 80, etc.); conjectural emendation is attempted, sometimes unhappily. Readings, interlinear or marginal, are apparently imported from other manuscripts, from Herondæan quotations in other authors, or, in the case of some proverbial expressions, from variant forms in literature or life. The glossator appears with his bits of scholia, very few in number, and in abbreviated form.

In making this attempt to ascertain the oldest accessible readings on record or reasonably to be deduced from the record, we by no means would assume that text-criticism should cease upon the completion of this task. Indeed the large work will yet remain of tracing the text back to the pen of the author, and in this more interesting work conjectural emendation must play a large part. But the conjectural reconstruction of the text can never safely begin until the utmost possible has been made of the record.

IV.

Σφρηγίς IN HEROND. I. 55.

THE facsimile of the papyrus at I. 55 reads :

KINΘWNAΘIKΤ  ΗΠΙΗΝ CΦΡ 

The gap at the middle, between τ and η, in which there is room for from seven to nine letters, has been filled by Bücheler and others so as to read ἄθικτ[ος ναὶ Κυθ]ηρίην;² by Crusius and others, ἄθικτ[ος ἐς Κυθ]ηρίην. The latter is palaeographically more probable. The close of the line is universally understood to be σφρηγίς; but the traces of the ink quite as well agree with σφριγῆς, or even possibly with σφριγῆι. The very distinct break in the continuity of the writing before the letters σφρ shows that there is a pause in the sense at this point, i.e. that the last word cannot be taken closely with the foregoing. It is mainly in the light of this consideration that the interpretation here offered is new.³

Now σφριγῶ, with its short penult in classical usage, is impossible, and is hardly to be justified by Oppian, *Cyn.* III. 368, where σφριγάα might be read for MS. σφριγᾶ, or by Draco Stratonicensis (p. 119. 7 Hermann), who gives σφριγῶ in a list of words with long penult, — a list teeming with demonstrably false quantities.⁴

¹ The final letter is probably σ, but it may be a blotted ι.

² There are traces of the σ of ἄθικτος, and Κυθ is fairly certain. The space between this σ and Κυθηρίην appears to me much too small for ναί, at least as ναί is written a few lines below, and elsewhere (I. 66, 86; VII. 71, etc.).

³ Rutherford has proposed ἄθικτος ἐὼν Κυθήρης· ἦν, σφρηγίς, but it cannot be wholly right: it offends against the metre besides being too much of a departure from the clear traces of the letters on the papyrus. All other editors have combined σφρηγίς closely with the foregoing words: either with ἄθικτος, or with ἡ Κυθηρίης (Bücheler's first proposition).

⁴ If σφριγῆι were possible, it would refer to the manly vigor and strength of the athlete Gryllus, lover of Metriche. In an epigram of Leontius we read of an aged athlete vanquishing his vigorous younger rivals: πρέσβυς ὅτι σφριγδωντας ἐν ἵπποδάμῳ πλέον ἀλκᾷ | ρικῆσας, *Anth. Pal.* XVI. 359; cf. also ἦβη σφριγῶντες ἐμπορεύονται, said by Achaëus περὶ τῆς εὐεξίας τῶν ἀθλητῶν διηγούμενος, *Athen.* x. 414 C, D. (Nauck, p. 747). — Σφριγῆς, if admissible, could be taken either as a parenthetical interrogative (like γελᾷς in II. 74), addressed to Metriche, — ‘Don’t you glow with desire?’ (at this description); or as a parenthetical remark — ‘Ah! you glow with desire, I see.’

Rejecting σφριγῆς or σφριγῆι, and accepting the reading σφρηγίς, we have yet to find a wholly satisfactory interpretation of the word in this context. It is possible in classical Greek to understand σφρηγίς (σφραγίς), 'seal,' in the literal sense, as either the metal seal or the stone (with inscribed device or legend, or uninscribed) or as the impression made by whatever kind of a seal, often also expressed by σφράγισμα.¹ Horace's *grata sigilla pudico* (*Epist.* I. 20. 3), cited by Bücheler, is hardly apposite, at least in the meaning attached to it by Horace. Here the reference is to seals impressed upon the barred doors of the apartments of the chaste one, who delights in the protection assured by them. Horace probably had in mind such passages² as Aristophanes's ταῖς γυναικωνίτισιν | σφραγίδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἤδη καὶ μοχλοὺς | τηροῦντες ἡμᾶς (*Thesm.* 414-6); or Euripides's μόνῃ δὲ κλήθρ' ἐγὼ σφραγίζομαι (*Phaethon*, *Fr.* 781. 10 Nauck); or the Euripidean³ ὅστις δὲ μοχλοῖς καὶ διὰ σφραγισμάτων | σφίξει δάμαρτα (*T. G. F.*,² Eur. 1063. 9 Nauck); or Lycophron's τὰ δ' ἄλλα θριπόβρωτος ἄψανστος δόμων | σφραγίς δοκεύει (*Alex.* 508, where see also the Scholiast), but hardly the passage in Herondas, which gives us a situation the exact opposite of that in Horace. That Metriche shall cease to be *pudica* is Gyllis's contention and errand.

The use of σφρηγίς in the sense of an uncut stone — "a gem for Aphrodite's service" (R. Ellis), *gemma Veneris* (Bücheler's first proposition) — is possible here, but hardly certain, in view of other

¹ Most of the examples refer to the engraved metal or stone, but there are a few where the uncut stone is meant. The interchangeableness of the two senses of 'seal' and 'impression' are seen in Xenoph. *Hellen.* I. 4. 3, and VII. 1. 39: in the former σφράγισμα, in the latter σφραγίς are used of the impression. Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, I. 195. 15. See also, for the various senses of the word, Steph.-Dind. *Thes.*, s.vv.

² Aristoph. *Av.* 560, ἐπιβάλλειν | σφραγίδ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ψωλὴν, ἵνα μὴ βινῶσ' ἐκείνας, is an amusing parody on this practice.

³ The passage in which these words occur is ascribed to Menander by Stobaeus, *Flor.* 74. 27. Cobet conjectured Euripidean authority (*Nov. Lect.* p. 46), and his conjecture has been confirmed by a sentence in the recently discovered Choricus, *Apol. pro mimis* 7. 4 Graux (τραγικὴν ῥῆσιν . . . ἀνδρὸς μισογύνου καὶ σώφρονος).

An expansion of this thought is found in a *Danae* of Byzantine date, a feeble Euripidean imitation: πατὴρ δὲ μιν κλήσας | ἐν παρθενῶσι σφραγίσιν δέμας φυλάσσει (*T. G. F.*, Eur. 1132. 58, 59 Nauck). The same idea was expressed in Lucian, *Tim.* 13: κατακεκλεισθαι . . . ὑπὸ μοχλοῖς καὶ κλεισὶ καὶ σημεῖων ἐπιβολαῖς . . . καθάπερ τὴν Δανάην παρθενεύεσθαι, κτλ.

more probable possibilities. If the lexica and word-lists are to be trusted, this sense of σφραγίς is mainly petrographical and technical, and not popular. There remains to be considered the interpretation which takes the expression—*ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς*—in a figurative sense, ‘a seal unbroken in love,’ or ‘a seal of inviolate virginity.’ In support of this view of the passage Crusius cites Nonnus, *λυσαμένη δ’ ἄψαυστον ἔης σφραγίδα κορείης* (*Dionys.* II. 305), and compares Paul the Silentiary,¹ *χρύσεος ἀψαύστοιο διέτμαγεν ἄμμα κορείας* | *Ζεὺς, διαδὺς Δανάας χαλκελάτους θαλάμους* (*Anth. Pal.* V. 217; also Suid. *s.vv.* *Κάσιον ὄρος, ἄμματα*). These examples appear to be very apposite, and almost silence objection, especially if we group with them the *ἄψαυστος . . . σφραγίς* of Lycophron. But they obtain compelling force only on three rather violent assumptions, viz. (1) that the expression ‘inviolat seal of virginity’ in the words *ἄθικτος* (*ἄψαυστος*) *σφραγίς* with some word for love or maidenhood, had become a stereotyped phrase in early Hellenistic poetry; (2) that as such it was here used by Herondas, and (3), that as such it was, centuries later, reproduced by Nonnus and Paul. The truth of these assumptions it will be impossible to demonstrate, at least from these examples or from others like them. No one would dream of turning to Lycophron as a mirror of current usage, and both Nonnus and Paul, Christians of the fourth century A.D., are quite too far removed from the Hellenistic age to require us to explain the phenomena of their art only on the theory of an imitation of Hellenistic models. The collocation *ἄθικτος σφραγίς* is not in itself so extraordinary as to require us, finding it in Lycophron, to view it as already a stereotyped one, or to prevent our taking the words separately under some circumstances. The words *ἄθικτος* (*ἄψαυστος*) *σφρηγίς* *παρθενίης*, *κορείης*, or the like, do not occur in the Anthology,

¹ It is not impossible that the received text of this much-quoted epigram may be incorrect, and that we should read *χρύσεος ἀθραύστοιο διέτμαγεν ἄμμα κορείας* for *ἀψαύστοιο*. This is the reading of Cod. Leidensis of Suidas, *s. Κάσιον*, though elsewhere we have *ἀψαύστοιο*. Probably the situation is conceived by Paul in this epigram, about Danae imprisoned in a tower, much in the way that a corresponding situation is represented by his contemporary Agathias in *Anth. Pal.* V. 294. 19, *ἐξαλάπαξα φίλης πύργωμα κορείης*, and a classical adjective for *πύργωμα* and a word used in the sense of *πύργωμα* is *ἄθραυστος*, rather than *ἄψαυστος*: Eur. *Hec.* 17, *πύργοι ἄθραυστοι*.

where if the expression had become common in Hellenistic times, it would certainly have been reflected, so numerous are the situations that might well call for it; indeed, the frequency of the somewhat similar ἄμμα παρθενίας renders yet more significant the absence of phrases with σφραγίς. It seems to me quite probable that the expression ἄψαυστος σφραγίς was suggested to Nonnus, if not by Lycophron, by current usage in his own time,¹ in which the word σφραγίς had gained, largely through Christian influence, many new and sacred associations. This expression he combines with references to maidenhood, influenced in part by literary models from the later epigrammatists (ἄμμα παρθενίας κτλ.), and in part by Christian ideas which had given to maidenhood as well as to σφραγίς new meanings.² Paul the Silentiary, known as an imitator and student of Nonnus and of Antipater of Sidon, mainly imitates these and other late writers, and not necessarily writers of the Alexandrine age; he is besides also more or less under the influence of certain Latin poets.³ Hence the presence in Nonnus and Paul of expressions apparently equivalent to the ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς of Herondas by no means proves that the latter must be taken in the sense of the former.

The strong punctuation in the verse between Κυθηρίην and σφρηγίς requires us to take ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην together, and to separate them from σφρηγίς. This independent use of ἄθικτος can be abundantly illustrated: cf. πατρὸς . . . φιλότῃτι θίγῃ, Soph. *Aj.* 1410; ἄθικτον δ' οὐκέτ' ἂν πέλοι κέαρ, Aesch. *Suppl.* 784 (where ἄθικτον is Dindorf's safe emendation for ἄφυκτον); πάσης κακίας ἄθικτος βίος, Plut. *Num.* 20. In the sense of 'virgin,' 'chaste,' cf. ἄθικτον εὐνήν, Eur. *Hel.*

¹ The words κορεῖη, ἄψαυστος, παρθενίη very frequently recur in Nonnus, and are used in a hackneyed way.

² Cf. ἐπειδὴ τὸ σφράγισμα τῆς παρθενίας καὶ τὸ ἐναγὲς πρόσχημα τῶν ἀγγέλων περιβεβλήμεθα αἱ ἀναξίαι, *Martyr. S. Arethae, ap. Boissonade, Anecd. Graeca*, V. p. 15. See Steph.-Dind. *Thesaurus*, on σφραγίς and its various compounds.

³ See Merian-Genast, *De Paulo Silentiario Byzantino Nonni sectatore*, Leipzig, 1889. — Antipater of Sidon has ὁ πρὶν ἄθικτα | ἡμετέρας λύσας ἄμματα παρθενίας (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 164, found in Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, 248. 8, and compare also Meleager's παρθενίας ἄμματα λυομένα, *Anth. Pal.* VII. 182) while Paul writes ἀψάυστοιο διέτμαγεν ἄμμα κορείας. — The most superficial comparison discloses the dependence of Paul's epigram (*Anth. Pal.* V. 217) upon Horace, *Carm.* III. 16; see Jacobs *ad loc.*

795; γυναικὸς θιγεῖν, Eur. *El.* 255: and in the gloss ἄθικτος· ἡ παρθένος in Bekk. *Anecd.* 828, where the word is quoted from Araros, a poet of the New Comedy, the reference is, of course, to a maiden. These and other examples justify us in taking ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην, like ἄθικτος Κυπρίδος, as '[hitherto] untouched of love, heart-free.'

It may be that in the appended σφρηγίς we have only an emphatic appositive, — 'untouched by love, — a very seal,'¹ — but I am disposed to believe that there is here an added thought, coördinate with the leading expressions: viz. the thought of *secrecy* which often attaches to σφραγίς and its derivatives, rather than that of inviolateness or purity. This sense — not sufficiently noted in L. and S. — may be illustrated by the following examples:² σφράγιζε τὸν λόγον σιγῇ, Solon *ap.* Stob. *Serm.* III. 79, p. 87 Mein.; ἀρρήτων ἐπέων γλώσση σφρηγίς ἐπικείσθω, Lucian *ap.* *Anth. Pal.* X. 42; ἄλλα δὲ θαύματα πολλὰ σοφῇ σφρηγίσσατο σιγῇ, Nonn. *Ioh.* xxi. 139; χεῖλεσι δ' ἄφθόγοισιν ἐπεσφρηγίσσατο σιγῇ, Nonn. *Dionys.* XLVII. 218; ἀλλὰ ἐτέχνη χαλκείης ἐπέδυσεν ὑπὸ σφρηγίδα σιωπῆς, Christod. *Ecphr.* 31, i.e. *Anth. Pal.* II. v. 31. Probably it was in large part the idea of secrecy associated with the seal that lent special force to σφραγίς and its derivatives in reference to the Greek mysteries: e.g., ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι means 'to initiate,' 'to make one of the μύσται (μύω, 'to be closed').' Of course the term has chiefly the connotations of authority and completeness, and these meanings develop especially in the numerous applications of the words to Christian usages. (Cf. Steph.-Dind. *Thes.*, s.vv.)

This interpretation — whereby σφρηγίς is understood to suggest the idea of secrecy — is quite in the spirit of Herondas. It furnishes an additional example of a motive elsewhere found in the mimes, that of caution and silence in matters of love and intrigue (I. 47,

¹ To Paul the Silentiary the expression might mean 'untouched of love, yet bearing love's own image or seal': cf. τὴν πρὶν ἐνεσφρήγισεν Ἐρως[θρασύς]εἰκόνα, *Anth. Pal.* V. 274. — Rutherford's ἦν, σφρηγίς, 'look, his seal,' is rather abrupt and harsh, but it has the advantage of preserving the punctuation.

² In Aeschylus the same thought is expressed by κλής: ἀλλ' ἔστι κάμοι κλής ἐπὶ γλώσση φύλαξ" (*Frag.* 316 Nauck), with which compare Soph. *O. C.* 1052, θνατοῖσιν ὦν καὶ χρυσέα κλής ἐπὶ γλώσση βέβακε προσόλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν, and *Frag.* 849. 2 Nauck. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* I. p. 36, note. Ancient rings made of key and seal combined have been sometimes found: cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* I. p. 295, fig. 349.

VI. 70). It is also in keeping with the context and with the course of thought: the crowning excellence in the young athlete commended by Gyllis to the favor of the coy Metriche is his habit of perfect secrecy and discretion; he is 'very rich, modest and quiet,¹ heart-free,—and silent; at sight of you, etc.' (πλουτέων τὸ καλόν, οὐδὲ κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς | κινέων, ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην, — σφρηγίς · |). Finally, the juxtaposition of similar ideas at III. 66, 67 (ἐγὼ σε θήσω κοσμιώτερον κούρης | κινούντα μηδὲ κάρφος) supports this interpretation. Perhaps, however, in this passage we have only a literary reminiscence of Aristophanes, *Lys.* 474.

If the papyrus would only allow us to read either ἄθικτος, ναὶ Κυθηρίην, σφρηγίς or ἄθικτος, ναὶ μὰ Κυπρίην, σφρηγίς (the adjective having a negative force) there would be no objection to connecting ἄθικτος and σφρηγίς, 'unbroken seal.' But these appear to be palaeographically out of the question.

V.

MOLON, SIMON, AND ARATUS.

τριθήμερα Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος
τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τὸν Μάρωνα ἐποίησεν
οὗτος Σίμωνα ὁ χρηστός. — HEROND. III. 24-26.

εἰς δ' ἀπὸ τᾶσδε, φέριστε, Μόλων ἄγχοιτο παλαίστρας.

— THEOC. *Id.* VII. 125.

THE Scholium on Theoc. *Id.* VII. 125 in Cod. Ambr. 222 (*k*), as reported by Ziegler, reads Μόλων ἢ Σίμων, Ἄρατος ἀντεραστής.² The vulgate reading is Μόλων καὶ Σίμων, Ἀράτου ἀντερασταί. Before the publication of the Ambrosian Scholia, Meineke had already proposed to emend the vulgate to Μόλων ἢ Σίμων, Ἀράτου ἀντεραστής. This reading, apparently confirmed by that of Ambr. *k*, where, however, Ἄρατος ἀντεραστής stands (not Ἀράτου ἀντεραστής), has been accepted, as definitely established, by Ziegler, Hiller, Maass, and others. It has been suggested by Hiller³ with much plausibility

¹ The gloss in Diogenianus (VI. 67) on the proverbial expression . . . μηδὲ κάρφος κινεῖν, is ἐπὶ τῶν ἡσυχῶν. Suidas has ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡσυχῶν.

² This reading, at least Μόλων ἢ Σίμων, is given also in Par. L (Reg. 2831).

³ On this theory of Hiller, I should be disposed to explain Σίμων as originally

that a Simon might have been mentioned by Aratus in one of his lesser poems¹ as a rival in love, and thus may have been regarded by the Scholiast as identical with Molon (ἢ Σίμων). Meineke's suggestion that Μόλων in the text of Theocritus is a corruption of Σίμων is hardly probable in view of the impossible quantity of the penult of the latter word.

The vulgate reading goes back to the manuscripts used by Callierges in his *editio princeps* of the Scholia (Rome, 1506); these were several in number (ἐκ διαφόρων ἀντιγράφων), and at least one of them appears to have belonged to the same family as Ambr. *k*.² If we bear in mind the easy confusion of the ancient abbreviation for καί with majuscule η it is not difficult for us to believe that even Ambr. *k*'s Μόλων ἢ Σίμων may be a mistake for an earlier Μόλων καὶ Σίμων. On palaeographical grounds then we might accept as the original reading something like this: Μόλων καὶ Σίμων· Ἄρατος ἀντεραστής ('Molon and Simon: Aratus was their rival in love'), which involves the least possible departure from the manuscript tradition; or the vulgate reading Μόλων καὶ Σίμων· Ἄρατον ἀντερασταί ('Molon and Simon: Aratus's rivals in love').

It is well known that in the Scholia Vetustiora of Theocritus lurk several pieces of extremely explicit information upon matters in Cos, which may safely be ascribed to an early commentator on the poet, himself a resident or native of the island, apparently recording and reporting stories and traditions locally current. This was Nicanor the Coan: he is certainly the authority for several items in the long Scholium on Theoc. *Id.* VII. 6, where he is cited by name (Νικάνωρ ὁ Κῶς ὑπομνηματίζων), probably also for much in *Schol. Idd.* I. 57,

a marginal explanatory gloss in a text in which μολών (participle) was read or understood: see below, p. 197, note 2. The Scholiast of Ambr. *k*, endeavoring to stand on two stools and to reconcile the older and better text-tradition of Μόλων (proper name) with the suggested Σίμων, connects the two names in his remark on the verse. But I do not believe we are forced to such a conclusion.

¹ On Aratus's ἐλεγείαι, ἐπιγράμματα, and παίγνια, see now Maass, *Aratea*, pp. 230 ff. (Wilamowitz-Kiessling, *Phil. Unt.* XII., 1892). In the epigrams Philocles was celebrated: *Anth. Pal.* XII. 129.

² For some remarks on the very complex sources of Callierges's Scholia, see Ahrens, *Bucolicorum Graecorum . . . Reliquiae*, vol. II. pp. lxi, lxii. — I regret that it is impossible for me to identify the manuscript sources at the place under discussion.

V. 123, VII. 1, 5, 10, 21, 45, XVII. 68, 69, *Syr.* 12; and doubtless to him also we owe some of our information as to Theocritus's family connexions at Cos.

Now it seems to me highly probable that among the minor *chroniques scandaleuses* of the prominent men of the little island was a piquant story to the effect that the great Aratus,¹ and two other persons known as Molon and Simon were rivals in certain love-affairs in which one Philinus figured; and that this story, gaining doubtless greater currency from the fact that the liaison may have been celebrated in part by Aratus in one of his minor poems, was recorded by Nicanor in his commentary, and lies at the bottom of the Scholium on *Id.* VII. 125. It is a matter of indifference to the argument whether the names Molon, Simon, and Philinus were the actual² names of the persons concerned or were partially fictitious, though the former seems to me more probable. At all events it was under the names of Molon and Simon that the story was current, and was reported by Nicanor. Molon, from the fact of his mention in such good company³ as that of *Id.* VII., which appears to have included,

¹ Maass, *Aratea*, c. viii (de Coö poetarum sodalico), discusses the question of Aratus's sojourn in Cos, and his friendships in the island, where he passed several years in his youth. The *Phaenomena* were there composed, and were read and recited to the literary coterie, mainly pupils of Philetas, among whom Aratus was a leading figure. — Were Herondas, and, after an interval, Artemidorus, the editor of Theocritus, later members of the same fraternity?

² From the fact that so many of the persons mentioned by Theocritus in *Id.* VII. appear under fictitious names (see the next note), and commonly in forms shorter than those of their actual names, Maass suggests that Molon is a pseudonym for an otherwise unknown Anchimolus (*Μόλων ἀγχοίτο* : 125). He and Knaack associate Philinus with Philocles, *ibid.* pp. 230 f., 322 f. But the identification of Philinus and Philocles is by no means certain: Philinus may well have been the actual name of a real person; and certainly Aratus's own name appears in this idyl in an undisguised form, as does also that of Philetas. The presence of the name Molon in Coan legend is an argument for the name Molon rather than Anchimolus: Dibbelt, *Quaestiones Coae mythologiae*, Greifswald, 1891, cited by Maass.

³ Philetas (v. 40); Aratus (v. 98, 122); Theocritus (*Σιμιχίδας*, vv. 21, 50, 96; cf. *Syrinx* 12); Dosiades (*Λυκίδας*, vv. 12, 27, 55, 91; unless Lycidas be O. Ribbeck's Astacides; he cannot have been Gercke's Callimachus); Alexander Aetolus (*Τίτυρος*, i.e. *Σάτυρος*, the name of Alexander's father, 72); Asclepiades (*Σικελίδας*, 40). With *Ἀριστίς* (v. 99) Maass (*l.c.* p. 320) would identify Aristothenes the astronomer; Bergk makes of Aristis the astronomer Aristarchus of

besides Theocritus, Philetas, and Aratus, the names of Dosiades, Alexander Aetolus, Asclepiades, and possibly Hegesianax, Alexis, and Aristotherus, was doubtless a person of some distinction. And the same might have been true of Simon. Unless he was a Coan citizen, perhaps we have in this name a vague reminiscence of another hitherto unsuspected member of the Coan fraternity of poets, viz. Simias¹ of Rhodes, the author of the *Alae, Ovum*

Samos. Häberlin (*Carmina figurata Graeca*, pp. 53, 54) finds Hermesianax referred to in Ἀγέδναξ (vv. 52, 61); Alexis (Athen. xiv. 620 E; this name may be the double for Alexander Aetolus; cf. Crusius, *Fahrbb. f. Philol.* 143, p. 387) in Ἀμύντας or Ἀμύντιχος (vv. 2, 132); and a possible Pericles, brother of Theocritus, in Εὐκριτος (vv. 1, 131).

Probably Häberlin is not right in identifying Φιλῖνος (vv. 105, 121) with the runner of the same name, friend of Daphnis, in Theoc. *Id.* II. 115. The latter, as Wilamowitz has suggested, is certainly the famous Coan sprinter who won the prize in the δίαυλος at Olympia in at least two successive Olympiads (B.C. 264, 260: Euseb. *Chron.* I., Schöne, vol. I. pp. 208, 209; cf. also Paus. VI. 17. 2, who makes him winner at five Olympic contests—boys' race, B.C. 268? H. Förster, *Die Sieger in den Olympischen Spielen*, nos. 440–445). If there is at vv. 98 ff. a reference to an actual love-affair of Aratus's youth,—and this seems highly probable, since with all its anachronisms *Id.* VII. gains its main charm from its reminiscent character,—this Philinus, in the prime of his youthful powers in 260 B.C., could hardly have been old enough, if actually then born, to have been the object of Aratus's affections as early as *circa* B.C. 292–288, when Aratus appears to have sojourned in Cos as a young man. Perhaps, however, unless the name be wholly fictitious or a substitute for that of Philocles or of some other person,—it is the type of the youthful lover in Eupolis (*Pol. Fr.* 206, p. 314 Kock; so Crusius),—Aratus's Philinus may have been, as Häberlin suggests, the one named by Strato (*C.A.* III. p. 362 Kock), or the glossographer of Athen. xvi. 681, 682 (pupil of Philetas?). But the extreme frequency of the name Φιλῖνος, especially in Coan inscriptions, should make us pause before insisting upon an identification. The name, referring to different persons, occurs in the following inscriptions, not later than the third century B.C.: Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, nos. 10 b 48; 10 c 36, 70, 75, 83, and 45 a 9.

It is an interesting coincidence that on the same set of stones, to be dated not far from B.C. 260, we find the names of Nannacus, Aratus (of course not the poet, who had long since left Cos), Philinus, and Simus (see the next note), referring each to more than one person. One of the older inscriptions (Paton-Hicks, no. 149) is that of a family Simonidae (Διὸς Ἰκεσίου Σιμωνιδᾶν).

¹ Of the date and literary affiliations of Simias we know little. He preceded the tragic poet Philicus (Hephaest. *Ench.* p. 58, Gaisf.: in Athen. v. 198 B.C. his name appears as Philiscus); wrote in his *carmina figurata* a kind of poem, on which Dosiades and Theocritus tried their hands, and like Asclepiades

and *Securis*, companion-pieces of Dosiades's *Ara* and Theocritus's *Syrinx*.

Have we not in Herond. III. 25, 26 another covert reference, if not to this particular story, at least to the two citizens or residents of Cos named in it? The Coan affinities and connexions of Herondas are everywhere evident in the mimes.¹ And in this same third mime we have at least two passages where we may safely see local allusions.² At III. 10, in ἤν Ναννάκου κλαύσω, there is probably a hit at a Coan worthy, if at the same time a personal application of a proverbial expression. The extremely rare proper name Nannacus is found on a Coan inscription of the same period as Herondas. And in τὰς ἐβδόμας τ' ἄμεινον εἰκάδας τ' οἶδε | τῶν ἀστροδιφέων (III. 53, 54), with its novel ἀστροδιφέως, it is extremely likely that there is an allusion to the Coan school of astronomers, established by Aristotherus, if not earlier, and represented at the time of Herondas apparently by Dositheus.³ In the light of these parallels it does not seem to me too violent to assume that in the Molon and Simon of III. 25, 26 — which I suggest for the Μάρων and Σίμων of the papyrus — we have a third local touch, which would be highly appreciated by Herondas's Coan readers. At the same time we must not forget that the word Σίμων might carry with it, at this place, several secondary suggestions, since it is not only the name of many very respectable people in antiquity, but also has some other connotations at once ludicrous and otherwise objectionable.⁴ Names from the circle

gave his name to a metre. His date and birthplace, his poetic tastes and his activity as Homeric glossographer make it probable that he was, like Theocritus, a pupil of Philetas at Cos, circa 300–290 B.C. Cf. Susemihl, *Gesch. d. Griech. Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I. pp. 179–182; II. p. 660.

The name Σιππας might well be disguised in Σίμων, or the two could easily interchange: compare Πανσάππας, Πανσπας, Πανσῶν referring to the same person; Σίππος = Σίμων, Strabo XIV. 648. Cf. Crusius, *Fahrbb.* 143, pp. 385 ff.

¹ Cf. Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas*, pp. 186 f., 8, 34, 56, 84, 113, 125, and the index to the same scholar's text-edition, where words found both in Herondas and in the inscriptions and other Coan records are designated by an asterisk.

² The fact that the ἐβδόμη and εἰκάς are spoken of as holidays both in this mime (53; cf. V. 80) and in Coan inscriptions (Paton-Hicks, *ibid.* nos. 369, 3, 402^a. 6, etc.) cannot be pressed, since these days were also elsewhere holidays. Cf. Crusius, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 68, 113.

³ Maass, *Aratea*, p. 321, note 56.

⁴ Crusius, *Untersuchungen*, p. 60.

of the *doctus poeta* Aratus, itself the school of the poet-γραμματικός Philetas, might very well be chosen by the fond father in his attempt to examine his son on the rudiments of letters, the first step in literature (γραμματίζοντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ). Possibly also in the Φιλαίνιον of Herond. I. 5, daughter of the go-between Gyllis,¹ we may see the double of the frail youth who had stirred the emotions of Aratus and his friends.

If, now, Molon (or Maron) and Simon belong together in the Coan story, it is clear that if the Μόλων² of Theocritus is correct, the Μάρων of Herondas must be wrong; or, *vice versa*, that the Μόλων of Theocritus must be a corruption of Μάρων. In my opinion Μόλων is too strongly fortified to be dislodged from Theocritus and his commentator. In its favor are the tradition of the best manuscripts, and, apparently, the text at the bottom of the Scholia Vetusiora. It is perhaps also sustained by Eustathius, who is full of Theocritean reminiscences, in the words Μόλωνες οἱ παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ, ὃ τε ἦρως [read ἐρῶν] καὶ ὁ σκωπτόμενος (p. 882. 24). Now a hero Molon is nowhere mentioned in Greek literature, so far as I know, unless he lies behind the word Molon which is found in Coan mythology. I suggest that ἦρως is here a corruption for ἐρῶν ('the lover'), and that in appending this epithet Eustathius had in mind, though vaguely, the Molon of Theoc. *Id.* VII. 125. The Μόλων ὁ σκωπτόμενος is the one mentioned in Aristoph. *Ran.* 55. Eustathius might very well have here connected both the Molons with the poet of comedy, through a slightly confused recollection of a sentence in the Didymean commentary on Aristophanes, of which we

¹ The original form of the name here is Φιλαίνιον. The marginal variant Φιλαινίδος probably suggested itself to a late corrector of the papyrus because of the notorious hetaera of this name (*Anth. Pal.* V. 202: cf. Crusius, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 43, 129). Perhaps, however, there is in this daughter of the athlete Gryllus's friend, a covert reference to the great athlete and runner Philinus named above, whose career resembles that of Gryllus.

² The reading μολών, participle, adopted by Ahrens and others from inferior manuscripts, and from a *varia lectio* of the Scholiast, is hardly probable. As the *lectio facilior* it probably arose from a misunderstanding of the proper name Μόλων, well attested by Ambr. *k*—text and Scholia,—by the first hand of Medic. *p*, and by the Juntine, which is based in part upon a manuscript of the same family as Ambr. *k*, as good as *k*, if not better. This confusion was not a little helped by the μολοῖσα | τήρησον ποτὶ τὰν Τιμαγῆτοιο παλαίστραν of *Id.* II. 96, 97.

have traces in the Scholiast on Aristophanes and in Suidas.¹ In this commentary Didymus had said that there were two Molons in antiquity, respectively actor and thief, and that Aristophanes here (*Ran.* 55) means the thief, since he was small of stature. Now in the passage cited above from Eustathius we are also told that there were two Molons, and that both were celebrated by the comic poet; whereas in fact only one Molon is mentioned by the *poet*, while it is the *commentator* that discourses of two Molons. This duality of Molons in Greek comedy according to Eustathius, arises from a misrecollection, on his part, of the Didymean commentary, since elsewhere he refers apparently to only one Molon as mentioned by a comic poet.² All these facts with others show, first, that Eustathius read his Aristophanes, his Theocritus, and his Didymus, and, secondly, that at least in two cases — where by a false association of ideas he gives to Aristophanes what Didymus had said, and where he turns a thief into a lover (or hero) — his recollection of his reading was of such a nature as to make it quite probable that the Theocritean Molon came into his mind and was duly noted as he endeavored to recall and record a bit of dimly remembered Didymean lore.

Retaining, then, the Molon of Theocritus, the question arises whether the Μάρων of the Herondas papyrus can be traced to an original Μόλων as written by the mimographer. There is no uncertainty about the reading of the papyrus: ΜΑΡΩΝ is unmistakable in both places where the word occurs. If an error was made by this or an earlier scribe, it must have come about in one of two ways, either through a misreading of the letters of the original text, or from some probably unconscious mental confusion, on the part of the copyist. The manuscript from which the papyrus was copied, though in the main quite legible, was at places obscurely written, and abounded in orthographical errors, among which misread letters figure largely, all of which may be seen from the corrections made

¹ *Schol.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 55: Διδυμός φησιν ὅτι δύο Μόλωνές εἰσιν, ὁ ὑποκριτῆς καὶ ὁ λωποδύτης· καὶ μᾶλλον τὸν λωποδύτην λέγει, ὅς ἐστι μικρὸς τὸ σῶμα. Suid. s. Μόλων: Μόλωνες δύο, ὑποκριταὶ καὶ λωποδύται.

² Eustath. p. 1852. 11: παρὰ τὸ μολεῖν δὲ ὁ Μούλιος Ἰωνικῇ ἐπενθέσει τοῦ ὤ· καθὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦ κωμικοῦ Μόλων καὶ οἱ μολλονες. — Eustathius's remark that Molons were large persons is probably to be traced to some other source, if not one of his own etymologies (Μόλωνες οἱ πολυμεγέθεις ἀπὸ τοιοῦτου Μόλωνος, p. 1834. 32).

by the first hand in his revised copy; this has been pointed out on pp. 182 ff. Now the letters ΟΛ in the writing of *circ.* B.C. 100–A.D. 100, or even earlier, might well have been dashed off by a scribe so as to be taken by a copyist for ΑΡ: interesting examples of these letters blindly written occur in our papyrus itself at IV. 29 (ΜΗΛΟΝ), and II. 78 (ΘΑΡCΕΩΝ).

But we are not reduced to the necessity of explaining the probable corruption on palaeographical grounds alone. As we have already seen, the scribe of this manuscript did not slavishly copy his original, letter by letter, but appears often to have carried the words in his mind, dictating them as it were to himself, and writing sometimes not the word he saw, but the word he thought he heard. Now in such a process it is quite possible that, in the case of an unusual proper name, the cognate sounds of the liquids λ and ρ might have become interchanged,¹ — as in the classical example of Alcibiades's pronunciation of Θέωρος and κόραξ as Θέωλος and κόλαξ — and that while our scribe saw Μόλων he wrote Μάρων. The mistake may have been made the easier by an association of ideas with Virgil. The writer of the papyrus manuscript, "who may be provisionally assigned to the second or third century A.D." (Kenyon), when Virgil had already become a text-book in the schools and was well known in the ancient world, might well have associated the supposed Maro of the original mime, whose name is there spelled out to a lazy school-boy, with the famous Roman.² It should finally be remarked that the Μάρων of the Coan inscriptions, to which reference has been made in illustration of the name in Herondas, cannot be taken into consideration in this connexion. Unlike the Nannacus, Simus, Philinus, and Aratus mentioned as found on stones of the third century B.C., this word occurs only in a late Christian inscription;³ perhaps

¹ For Alcibiades's mispronunciation see Aristoph. *Vesp.* 44, 45; Plut. *Alc.* 1. Cf. Ἀμοργός . . . λέγεται καὶ Ἀμολγός, Stephan. Byz. *s.v.* In one of the modern Cretan dialects ἄλλο is *arro*.

² To a scribe writing in Egypt after B.C. 50, the name of the Alexandrian Marion, the Olympic *παρὰδοξονίκης* of B.C. 52, who won the prize for the pancratium and the wrestling match on the same day, and thus became the fifth Heraclæan double-victor, would also have its associations. Förster, *Die Sieger*, nos. 579, 580.

³ "Μάρωνος. ἐτ(ῶν) κ̅. Small stele, with aedicula in the centre of which is a cross within a circle": Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 339, p. 219.

the young man on whose gravestone it stands received his name, which is not a frequent one among the Greeks, in honor of the author of the Aeneid.

In view, then, of all these considerations, I do not hesitate to propose as, at least, a probable, if not a certain, reading at Herond. II. 24-26 : —

τριθῆμέρα Μόλωνα γραμματίζοντος
 τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τὸν Μόλωνα ἐποίησεν
 οὗτος Σίμωνα ὁ χρηστός.



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